

That vote will occur on Tuesday morning at a time to be determined by the two leaders.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, following the remarks of Senator LEAHY, who is expected on the floor momentarily, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

JUVENILE JUSTICE BILL

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, first, I alert my colleagues that I will speak a very short time. I am going to talk about a UC that I would have proposed but will not propose today but will explain why.

Earlier this month, the Republican majority came to the floor, unfortunately without prior warning, to propound a unanimous consent request for consideration of the Hatch-Sessions juvenile justice bill, S. 10. I see the distinguished Senator from Alabama here on the floor now. The UC was proposed late on Thursday afternoon. Unfortunately, it was after Senators had been informed there would be no more votes. In fact, I had already left for home in Vermont. We were unaware that they might want to proceed to S. 10 on Thursday.

My concern is that there had been a year of inaction on the bill. I had tried to propose some additional changes to the bill, which was voted on by the Judiciary Committee in July 1997, but I was unable to get any response from the other side of the aisle in the Judiciary Committee on that. There was also no attempt to get a response from this side of the aisle on the proposed UC.

I mention this because the failure of this Congress to take up and pass responsible juvenile crime legislation does not rest with the Democrats. And it is not going to be cured by any kind of a procedural floor gimmick.

Over the past year, I have spoken on the floor of the Senate and at hearings on several occasions about my concerns with the legislation. At the same time, I have expressed my willingness to work with the chairman of the full committee in a bipartisan manner to improve the juvenile crime bill.

I am not alone in my criticisms and in wanting to see changes in the bill. It has been criticized by virtually every major newspaper in the United States.

It has been criticized by national leaders ranging from Chief Justice Rehnquist to Marian Wright Edelman, President of the Children's Defense Fund. The National District Attorneys Association, and other law enforcement agencies have also written me with their concerns about this bill.

I have also heard from numerous State and local officials across the United States, including the National Governors' Association, the Council of State Governments, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the National Association of Counties, and the National Conference of State Legislatures. All of them have expressed concerns about the restrictions this bill would place on their ability to combat and prevent juvenile crime effectively.

In short, S. 10, as reported by the Judiciary Committee, is a bill laden with problems—in fact, so many that at last count the bill had lost nearly a quarter of the Republicans who signed on as cosponsors since its introduction.

The unanimous consent request that was proposed by the other side of the aisle, I believe, was patently unfair. It would have limited debate of juvenile justice and other crime matters. It would have permitted the Republicans to offer a substitute to their own bill but not allowed Democrats the same opportunity. The only additional amendments in order under their plan would be five on each side.

We just received from the chairman of the Judiciary Committee the day before yesterday, September 23, the latest version of S. 10 which contains over 100 different changes, but the Republicans want to limit us to 5 amendments. That is not a bipartisan effort to improve this bill.

While I appreciate that we are short of time in this Congress, and I understand why the Republican leadership would like to limit the number of amendments the Democrats may offer, of course, the decision to bring the bill up at the end of the Congress is that of the majority. I have no problem with that.

But we have worked diligently to pare down the amendments that the Democrats plan to offer to S. 10 from 64 to the 25 substantive amendments which I would have put in a proposed UC. Keep in mind what I said, also, that just a couple days ago we were handed the latest version from the other side with over 100 changes. We are talking about cutting Democratic amendments from 64 to 25 substantive ones that address the substantial criticisms leveled at this bill. I want to assure that Senate consideration of this legislation is fair, full, and productive. I do not appreciate, frankly, what appears to be almost a procedural ambush to move this bill forward in a way that allows consideration of all changes from the other side but very few from this side.

So, Mr. President, I am not going to make a unanimous consent request, but I ask to put this into the RECORD—

not as a unanimous consent request. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD what I would recommend should be a unanimous consent request to be asked by the leadership entitled "Juvenile Justice."

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUVENILE JUSTICE

I ask unanimous consent that it be in order for the majority leader, after consultation with the democratic leader to proceed to Calendar No. 210, S. 10, The Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Act and it be considered under the following limitations:

That the only amendments in order be a substitute amendment offered by Senators Hatch and Sessions, a substitute amendment offered by the minority leader or his designee and the following listed amendments, and that if either substitute is agreed to that the substitute continue to be amendable in two degrees:

Leahy—judicial review procedures in certain juveniles cases; preservation of state presumption for prosecution of most juveniles; access to juvenile records; separation standard for juveniles in custody; crime victims assistance.

Kennedy—gun control measure; Hate Crimes Prevention Act; reauthorization of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act.

Biden—prevention program for after-school activities; increase funding for prosecutor/courts grant program; modify requirements to qualify for funding from \$150 million grant program; gun ban for dangerous teens; preserve the sovereign rights of native Americans by continuing the tribal "OPT-IN"; extension crime law trust fund.

Kohl—reauthorize title V programs; restoration of the jail removal mandate.

Feingold—improve school safety; allow funds to be used to identify early warning signs of potential juvenile offenders.

Durbin—relevant.

Bingaman—Truancy Prevention and Juvenile Crime Reduction Act; to strike provisions relating to tobacco and alcohol.

Lautenberg—jump mentoring bill, S. 1461.

Wellstone—juvenile mental health protections.

Murray—restorative/community justice.

That there may be a managers package of amendments to be cleared by both the majority and minority manager; and

I finally ask consent that following the disposition of any or all amendments the bill read a third time, the Judiciary Committee be discharged from further consideration of H.R. 1818 and the Senate proceed to its consideration; all after the enacting clause be stricken and the text of S. 10, as amended be inserted in lieu thereof, the bill be read a third time and the Senate proceed to a vote on passage of the bill. I further ask that following the vote the Senate insist on its amendment, request a conference with the House and the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. SESSIONS. There was a unanimous consent—

Mr. LEAHY. No, no. I tell my friend from Alabama, this is what I would propose. I already stated that. And I have informed the floor staff on the Republican side that I would not make the unanimous consent request to this proposal at this time. Anyone who has known me for 24 years here knows I would never do this. I would not propose a unanimous consent request on a

day when everybody has taken off already to the various airports or home. But I am putting into the RECORD, so that Senators can read it on Monday, what would have been my proposal if we were able to make it. I would not seek to ambush the other side. I have not done that in 24 years, and I am not about to start now.

Mr. SESSIONS. Thank you.

Mr. LEAHY. Thank you, Mr. President.

I yield the floor.

Mr. SESSIONS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

The Chair advises the Senator, because of the previous order, he will have to seek unanimous consent to speak at this point.

Mr. SESSIONS. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, notwithstanding the previous order for adjournment, I be permitted to speak, and the Senate then adjourn under the previous order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SESSIONS. I really appreciate Senator LEAHY and his leadership as ranking member on the Judiciary Committee. I would suggest, with regard to juvenile justice, that we have not had a year of inaction, as the Senator said. There were 100 changes proposed, and most of those in an apparently futile attempt to gain the support of Democratic Members who have been using procedural tactics to block the consideration of that bill.

The bill came out of the Judiciary Committee on a 12-6 vote, and with bipartisan support. Since that time, we have sought to gain additional support from the Democratic side. I have been a prosecutor for almost 20 years. I believe in this bill. It is not a political bill. It is a bill that provides resources and support and strength right to the local juvenile courts throughout America. It is in those courts where the real progress is being made in fighting juvenile crime.

I see the Presiding Officer, the Senator from Ohio. A few months ago we had the opportunity to meet in Ohio with a juvenile judge, Judge Grossman, who allowed us to witness a model program in action. In this program the judges have the resources and the capacity to confront youngsters when they are first arrested for juvenile crimes, and the judges also have the option to do something effective to confront those children and to change them from the road of destruction on which they are too often headed. A community may have alternative schools. It may have boot camps. It may have intensive probation supervision. In Ohio, Judge Grossman has a truancy program with trials conducted in the schoolroom with the Judge present. These are the kind of programs that can actually deter juvenile crime in America.

That is the heart and soul of this juvenile justice bill. I hope somehow, some way we can get a vote on it this

time. It has been frustrating that we have not been able to do that yet. The National Juvenile Judges Association, the Fraternal Order of Police, the Boy's and Girl's Club, and organization after organization have supported this piece of legislation. I don't think there is any group more interested and more professionally concerned than the National Juvenile Judges Association. They have spent a good bit of time analyzing it, and they support it. This bill certainly represents a very important step forward.

I thank this body and I thank the Presiding Officer for his leadership on juvenile crime and juvenile justice. It is a matter close to my heart. The Presiding Officer is a former prosecutor who has given intensive leadership to that issue.

The legislation we have today is a product of bipartisan compromise and a lot of hard work. I think it is an excellent bill and it will be a tragedy, indeed, if for partisan reasons we are not able to bring it forward.

The House has acted on good legislation. If we can get our legislation passed, even in these last few days—I know the time is short—if we can get ours passed and go to conference and work together one more time, we could pass a bill that the people of this country would be proud of and would, in fact, allow us to intervene in the lives of kids who are going wrong and get them on the right track. Sometimes that takes tough intervention. Sometimes they need to go to a boot camp or detention facility or alternative school. We need to help encourage States to do that. Mr. President, I thank the occupant of the Chair for his time and his leadership on this matter.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I was taken aback this morning after reading statements made by Vice President GORE that appeared in an article detailing the decision made by the Energy and Water Appropriations conference committee to eliminate Federal funding for the Tennessee Valley Administration's non-power programs. Funding for these TVA programs has been going on since TVA's inception. It has been pared down very much, year after year after year, until it has reached an amount that really can fund only the maintenance of the waterway, the dams, the flow of water, and reservoirs contained therein.

The conference committee has determined and has decided that funding for these programs will be eliminated. I am extremely disappointed in that. I want to say a few things about this decision and how it came about, but first I want to comment on what the Vice President said in today's AP story. According to published accounts, Vice President GORE said he was deeply disappointed in these program reductions. Then he said, "The conference committee's action in zeroing out TVA is com-

pletely misguided, unjustified, unfair, and it seriously undermines TVA's important role in enhancing the Tennessee Valley."

That is what the Vice President said, " * * * completely misguided, unjustified, unfair, and it seriously undermines TVA's important role in * * * the Tennessee Valley."

I agree that the decision to eliminate this funding is unfair because for the first time the ratepayer, the Tennessee Valley power payers, will be asked to keep up a waterway, even though every other waterway in America is kept up by taxpayers, through either the Corps of Engineers or other agencies. This is a major change and I think it was an unwise decision.

Mr. President, just 2 years ago this administration took action that directly led to this result. There has been debate for some time as to whether or not we ought to fund the Tennessee Valley Authority in this way. Two years ago this President and this Vice President, working through the Office of Management and Budget, which is a part of this administration, submitted a budget to this Congress that zeroed out nonpower funding for the Tennessee Valley Authority. The last time I checked, the Vice President was a part of this administration.

Now, those of us who opposed the Administration's decision are in trouble. There was a debate about reducing TVA's funding. People took different sides on it. The chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority is a personal friend of the Vice President. The Vice President helped the current TVA chairman get his appointment and the Vice President consults with him regularly. Initially, the TVA chairman said he thought the Administration's funding reductions were a good idea and he supported the Clinton Administration's position. We asked him to reconsider. Chairman Crowell held hearings and studied the issue and came back and said he didn't think the Administration's position was a good idea after all; he changed his mind.

What I am saying, Mr. President, is that we are "living in spin" in this city. It offends me. It is a matter of basic integrity. I am just a former prosecutor from Alabama. I haven't been in this body 2 years. Maybe you are supposed to become immune to these things. I am not immune to it yet. When the Vice President says, "It is completely misguided, unjustified, unfair," and yet 2 years ago he submitted a budget to do the very thing he is now criticizing, it strikes me as somewhat unusual and unfair and unjustified for him to say that.

The reason this funding failed and the reason the conference committee succeeded over my objection and over the objection of Senators THOMPSON, FRIST, SHELBY and others involved in the Tennessee Valley, was because of the impetus given to this effort by this administration when, along with their chairman of TVA, they supported proposed funding reductions 2 years ago.